20c OCTOBER 23, 1950

New Republic

TRUMAN MEETS MacARTHUR

AN EDITORIAL

TAFT ON TRIAL

By JAMES A. MAXWELL

THERE REALLY WERE WITCHES

By MALCOLM COWLEY

HAROLD L. ICKES ON: WHAT IS A DEMOCRAT?

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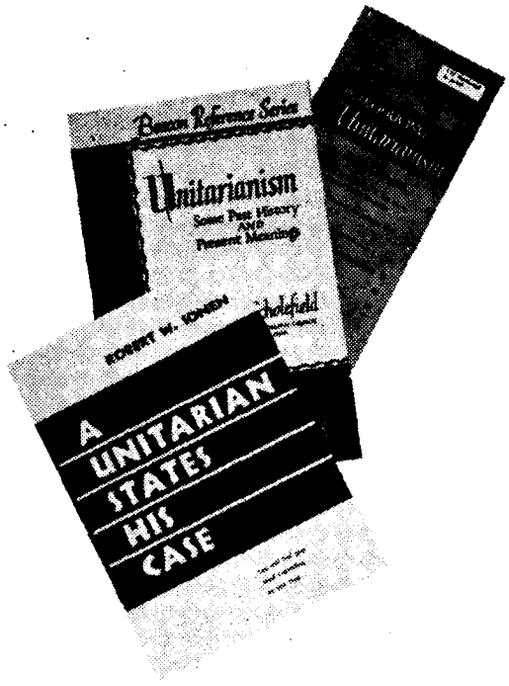

What do you mean— LIBERAL?

JOHN HENRY SMITH is a thorough-going liberal. Politically, no one tells him how to vote. He makes it his business to know something of the men who are running for office and where they stand on important issues. He talks, thinks, decides, then votes. On social issues no one hoodwinks him into backing "any old cause." Just once he was "used." Burnt his fingers a bit, but it didn't make him fire-shy. Now, after supporting an issue, he checks the facts: Who will benefit and how? Is it worth it? Who's for it and why; who's not? (*A man can waste a lot of time fighting windmills.*)

SOME say Smith is not a liberal economically. He earns a decent income—spends most of it. But he doesn't hold with the idea of "communal wealth." Instead, he works sincerely for equal education and equal employment opportunities for all, believing that a child's future should not be handicapped by its parents' limitations.

Religion? Smith doesn't have any—at least he doesn't go to church. After a great deal of thought, he decided that there are three things in the world that keep people apart: differing cultures, differing languages and religion. Creeds, he decided, are divisive; why not a church without a creed? He became interested in reading Jefferson—marked certain passages he especially liked: "I am for freedom in religion, and against all maneuvers to bring about a legal ascendancy of one sect over another. . . . Reason and free inquiry are the only effectual agents against error. Give a loose to them, they will support true religion by bringing every false one to their tribunal, to the test of their investigation."

Creed and dogma, Smith concluded, are in opposition to reason and free inquiry. So he doesn't go to church. Yes, John Henry Smith is a thorough-going liberal.

But John Smith is mistaken.

There is a liberal religion, an organized faith without a creed. For four centuries it has steadfastly adhered to these three principles: (1) individual freedom of belief, (2) the use of reason in religion, (3) a generous tolerance for differing religious points of view. This religion is commonly known as Unitarianism.

An Associated Press dispatch recently states of Unitarians: "There is little looking backward in the Unitarian Church. . . . Although not trading on its past, the history of Unitarianism is impressive. . . . It has exerted an influence out of all proportion to its size." Although comparatively small (80,000 members), the denomination has attracted thousands of members in the last few years. Whether one checks the HALL OF FAME records or WHO'S WHO IN AMERICA, he will find the names of Unitarians far out-ranking all others in proportion to members. This is due to the fact that, whereas other denominations stress dogma and creed, Unitarians attempt to translate religion into living, human terms. The deed, not the creed, is important. Consequently, it has attracted leaders in every major community.

Religion has been defined as "man's devotion to his highest ideals as exemplified by his conduct." If this be accepted, then religion must be the motivating force through which all improvements in human relations can be accomplished.

For further information concerning this dynamic religion, order one of the three explanatory booklets: "Introducing Unitarianism" by John Nicholls Booth (10¢), "Unitarianism, Some Past History and Present Meanings" by Harry B. Scholefield (25¢), or "A Unitarian States His Case" by Robert W. Sonen (cloth-bound book; list price $2; special to New Republic readers, $1). Stamps, money orders or checks may be forwarded. For your convenience, use the coupon below.

Munroe Husbands, Clerk
Unitarian Church of the Larger Fellowship
25 Beacon Street, Boston 8, Mass.

I am interested in the liberal Unitarian religion. Please send the pamphlet(s) indicated below, for which I enclose payment of $.

( ) "Introducing Unitarianism" (10¢)
( ) "Unitarianism. Past History and Present Meanings" (25¢)
( ) "A Unitarian States His Case" ($1)

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New Republic

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PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1950, IN THE U. S. A. BY EDITORIAL PUBLICATIONS, INC., PUBLISHING OFFICE 301 N ST., N. E., WASHINGTON 2, D. C. EDITORIAL AND BUSINESS COMMUNICATIONS SHOULD BE ADDRESSED TO 40 EAST 49 ST., NEW YORK 17, N. Y. ENTERED AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER SEPTEMBER 26, 1950, AT THE POST OFFICE AT WASHINGTON, D. C., UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879. SINGLE COPY, 20¢; YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, $6.50; CANADA AND FOREIGN, $7.50. PRINTED IN THE U. S. A.

WASHINGTON WIRE

THE ELECTION is three weeks off. Truman is campaigning by indirection and has taken the spotlight away from Republicans. Between editions of this periodical he has flitted back and forth to Wake Island and seen General MacArthur. He has a second big speech scheduled next Tuesday before the United Nations in New York, following his address in California. The GOP is thrown into some confusion by this oblique campaigning which is blood relative to FDR's famous "nonpolitical" inspection tours of war industries.

To this dour column the campaign seems apathetic and uncertain. Only about a third of the voters will vote. In many districts you couldn't tell for your life what the campaign is about. Lacking disciplined parties to sharpen up responsible issues Republican candidates are generally resorting to vague charges of Democratic "softness" toward Communism. Democrats tried to fix *that* by whooping through the I-hate-Reds McCarran bill before quitting Washington. Political reporters are out sniffing the constituencies trying to find a "trend." If there is one they haven't yet found it. As the situation stands, we guess it is going to be difficult to interpret the election after it is over. Our present estimate is that the Republicans will lose the election because they will not capture control of either House. On the other hand, they may gain a score or more House seats and a few Senate seats, over which they can thump their ribs and declare resolutely it means "victory in 1952." Actually it won't mean a thing unless they get, say, more than 30 seats.

As Truman and MacArthur made plans to meet and as they issued respective communiqués after their brief encounter, it reminded us more than anything else of an international parley between separate governments. Truman has his foreign policy, MacArthur his; the undercurrent of difference runs deep. There is not much use glossing over the difference. MacArthur sees Korea as merely another military incident in a Pacific war situation to be followed by other military steps; the Truman-Acheson view is that victory in Korea might be the opportunity for a careful peace overture to the Communist government in China, and for the reorientation of global diplomacy with emphasis on Europe.

We have had the Administration anti-inflation policy explained to us. It fills us with misgivings. We herewith offer this as a fairly accurate analysis as of the time being:

Everything hinges on the postulate that the present duel with Russia is a long-term affair. That is the point, it is declared, which the public just doesn't grasp. This isn't a matter of two, three or five years like a simple war, say. This is going to be 10, 15, 20 years or maybe our lifetime. Can the public adapt itself to that, do we have the fortitude and endurance? That remains to be seen, but the immediate question is over present economic controls. For a short-term period, prices could be stabilized by all-out controls. That was the heroic procedure Bernard Baruch proposed. It would be indicated for wartime when you have a war psychology. But (argues the Administration) you couldn't keep it up beyond a couple of years. It would mean a regimented economy run from Washington, with disciplines almost amounting to wartime dictatorship. So-o-o, instead of that, the pseudo-voluntary method is to be tried first. Certain consumer-credit and similar restrictions will be applied, production will be pushed for dear life, and (what isn't publicly acknowledged) a measurable degree of annual inflation will be considered likely.

What worries us are the men running this show. Home-front mobilization head W. Stuart Symington, the chairman of the National Security Resources

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Board, comes from a fine, socially prominent Baltimore family. He sees Truman almost daily. Secretary Snyder introduced him to Truman. He is the son-in-law of that fine old aristocrat, ex-Congressman James Wadsworth of New York. All fine, honorable men. Symington has brought in Alan Valentine, Rhodes Scholar, corporation director, ex-university president, Quaker, fine, big, handsome man of 49. His views? Against everything the New Deal and Fair Deal stand for. The New York *Post* has done a research job on him: As head of the University of Rochester, 12 years ago, he denounced the FDR welfare program; 10 years ago he headed a "Willkie-Democrats" group against the Third Term. In 1941 he testified against the Aid-for-Britain bill pending in Congress: it would bring US "dictatorship." In 1943 Valentine attacked the FDR-Churchill Four Freedoms. All—all honorable men, and not an imaginative liberal among 'em.

There seems to be a feeling among Truman's opponents that he is being unfair in trying to enforce the McCarran anti-subversive act. They protest that all this tying up of incoming aliens could have been obviated if Truman had just taken a "reasonable" approach. We find another example of this growing mood this month in our favorite contemporary, the *Reader's Digest*. Seems the US Labor Department charged "malicious falsehoods" in one of the *Digest's* little reprints, a cute knifing job called "The Federal Snoops Are After Me." According to the article, a small-town publisher complained that the governmental ogre wouldn't let him employ happy, happy child labor. The Labor Department snapped right back that the law prohibits young people from working in the same room with machinery and showed that that condition obtained. This was a tough one, just like Truman's insistence on enforcing the McCarran act. But the *Digest* rose to the occasion. It put one of its able writers to work on it. The result? Verdict handed down against the horrid ogre; no word said about changing the law—the government should not try to enforce it so scrupulously.

Washington T. R. B.

CORRESPONDENCE

Atlantic Union

SIR: Your statement on behalf of Western Union is excellently documented and could be read profitably, I think, by every American in this time of crisis. Your argument—that neither European Union nor government by international committees will save the free world—is certainly sound. You prove the case for Atlantic Union satisfactorily, but much to my disappointment, conclude by recommending four steps which fall far short of federation—which, I think, is the only way to save the free world.

You say that "the common need of Western nations is for bold and imaginative thinking." This is true, but I submit that at this hour it is also the time for bold and imaginative *action.*

Easton, Pennsylvania HUGH MOORE

SIR: Recent issues of the *New Republic* have contained a revealing series of articles by Michael Straight analyzing the need for an Atlantic Union, and the problems involved in creating such a union.

Material in this series highlights the inadequacy of our current Atlantic defense plans and shows how these plans cannot be strengthened by the present "uncreative, uninspired and irresponsible committee system." This documentation of the current scene performs a real and needed public service.

Especially since United Nations forces have won some success in Korea, there is a public tendency to accept present structures such as the North Atlantic Council as sufficient to guarantee our security. This false sense of security is certainly exploded by the *New Republic's* series.

Equally important is the analysis of the obstacles which must be overcome to achieve Western unity. We need to know what we must do in order to achieve our goal. I hope these articles receive the circulation they deserve, and not merely among the general public. . . .

WALDEN MOORE, Secretary of the Board, Atlantic Union Committee

New York City

SIR: I read Michael Straight's series on the need for and the prospect for a Federal Union of Western Europe, and I want to congratulate you on them.

I find myself in full accord with most of the conclusions he reached, and I think the series ought to be very helpful.

When he came down to the "What can we do about it," however, I should be inclined to include a further step, and that further step would be the passage by our Congress of some such resolution as this:

"Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), that the President is requested to invite the democracies which sponsored the North Atlantic Treaty to name delegates, representing their principal political parties, to meet this year with delegates of the United States in a federal convention to explore how far their peoples, and the peoples of such other democracies as the convention may invite to send delegates, can apply among them, within the framework of the United Nations, the principles of free federal union."

New York City ELMO ROPER

Communists Are Not Witches

SIR: This Administration has assumed the right to state, without proof, that certain organizations are Communist fronts, that if you were in them and not a Communist, you were an innocent dupe. I resent and reject that term. In any organization I was in, if there were Communists, I know there were Communists.

The quaking little men and women who passed the McCarran monstrosity in Washington act as if Communists were witches—as unchangeable, and as powerful. But it is human beings who have become Communists, for certain reasons; other human beings, for other reasons, have disdained or rejected Communism. An American, brought up on the Declaration of Independence, embraces the idea of proletarian dictatorship with reluctance. . . . Can you cure his beliefs by kicking him around? No, that merely confirms his distrust of democracy. . . . Repression defeats its own purpose, like other un-Christian—unkind—methods. Have our would-be patriots noted the fact that every country where Communists were harshly repressed is now either run by Communists or has to contend with a powerful Communist minority? The only countries where Communists don't count, and cannot drum up a following, are those that have maintained complete freedom. Then why should we abandon our greatest advantage?

A Communist is often a person of more than ordinary energy and organizing ability. I say it is far better to keep these talents employed working for generally acceptable aims in a front organization, than to drive them underground. If while he is working, some social improvement actually takes place, as it seems to, in spite of the Communists' pessimism, then I think I can convert him to democracy more easily than he can convert me to dictatorship. . . .

JESSIE LLOYD O'CONNOR

Little Compton, R. I.

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VOLUME 123, NUMBER 17, ISSUE 1873, WASHINGTON, D. C., OCTOBER 23, 1950 **New Republic**

TRUMAN MEETS MacARTHUR

PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S decision to meet personally with General MacArthur was a statesmanlike act which entitles him to renewed respect and support from everyone who genuinely wants peace. The charge of "politics" which has risen from certain Republicans is undeserved. The President has taken the direct course which the time and the situation demand.

There is an urgent need for a real understanding with MacArthur. Truman's prompt rebuke to the General when MacArthur made an open bid for supremacy over the Commander-in-Chief in his message to the Veterans of Foreign Wars temporarily halted a disastrous policy clash. If MacArthur is to continue as a key figure in Asia, it is imperative that he be prevented from going off on some tack of his own out of failure to understand Truman's position. If MacArthur is made to understand, and still insists on deciding America's position for himself, the President will know how to deal with the situation. By making things clear to the General in this face-to-face meeting, Truman will wipe out any future excuse from MacArthur for misunderstanding and substantially cut down the General's leeway as to future policies.

With the end of active war in Korea, Formosa will become the prime danger point in the East. MacArthur has frankly declared that our policy should be to build up Formosa, in alliance with Chiang Kai-shek, as a base from which to launch an invasion of the Chinese mainland. The US should take over a part of China as an American "bastion," MacArthur believes, in order to "dominate with air power every Asiatic port from Vladivostok to Singapore." The political policy he would pursue to reach this military objective would presumably flow from his basic belief that: "It is in the pattern of Oriental psychology to respect and follow aggressive, resolute and dynamic leadership."

Once Korea is brought into check, it would be the wildest folly to run any risk of having MacArthur dash off on any such imperialist course, under any such mistaken notion of what the modern East wants and respects. The President can be expected to let MacArthur know that the contrary of what he has urged is expected of him as the agent of the US. He can be expected to reaffirm to MacArthur that "We do not want Formosa or any part of Asia for ourselves . . . that the future of Formosa . . . should be settled by international action and not by the decision of the United States or any other state alone" and that his intention still is to withdraw our Seventh Fleet from Formosan waters as soon as the Korean war is under control.

He is not expected to leave any doubt in MacArthur's mind that we are committed to non-interference in China, to no unilateral action with respect to Formosa, and to the UN way of settling any and all disputes between nations.

Above all, if Truman's meeting with MacArthur is to make "some contribution to the peace of the world," as the President has expressed his hope, the President must make it clear to the General that he is to coöperate in the political policies laid down by our Department of State, the White House, and the appropriate organitions of the United Nations, and that he himself has no authority to make political decisions. Two cardinal rules must govern the actions of the free nations of the West in their relations with Asia: 1. the free nations must support constructive nationalism and work toward the earliest possible end of colonialism of every form. 2. The combined resources of the free nations must be placed behind the development of Asia's resources for the benefit of its people. It is to be hoped that the President enunciates these principles so clearly that even MacArthur will grasp them, and that Mr. Truman will repeat them in his coming address to the United Nations Assembly, as an inspiration and a promise to the whole world.

It is only normal for the Democrats to hope the President's forthright entry into the Asiatic crisis on the eve of the elections will benefit the Party. Undoubtedly, the President considered the probable election effect in making his decision to fly to the Pacific. Some political dividend flows inevitably from every Presidential action. The Republicans will doubtless consider it unfair if the political dividend in this case is a large positive for the President's party. It would have been foolish and irresponsible of the President to have postponed so urgent a mission as his meeting with MacArthur to escape such criticism.

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THE CONDITIONS OF PEACE AT HOME

THE MOST encouraging thing about Truman's decision to meet with General MacArthur is the indication it gives of a new attitude on the President's part. For many months, Mr. Truman has shown a disturbing reluctance to assume real leadership in world affairs. The mood of the White House has been negative and lethargic. There is now room for hope that the President has decided to move up into the position he should occupy as an aggressive fighter for world understanding.

Regardless of how successful he might be in the international field, however, there is no way to achieve world peace unless America's home economy is stable. Today, although the prosperity of this country is far greater than it has ever been at any time before, economists are becoming increasingly alarmed that we are heading for an inflation sharp enough to jeopardize our whole business structure. The President must recognize the urgency of a firm new economic policy at home as he has recognized the urgency of a clear understanding of our objectives in the Far East. He must be as decisive in dealing with the economic swashbucklers at home as he has been with MacArthur.

The *New Republic* has repeatedly pointed out that the authority given to the President under the Defense Production Act is inadequate and confused. He has unnecessarily added to this handicap, however, by delaying the use even of the limited powers given him and by choosing as his top administrator of inflation controls a man whose sympathies appear to be on the opposite side from the Fair Deal Administration.

In the President's defense, it must be said that until very recently his principal economic advisers have encouraged his natural tendency to delay possibly unpopular restraining orders until after the November election. The economists urged a full trial of voluntary price and production controls, credit curbs, and heavier taxes, before entering upon wide-scale government regulation of the economy. It is clear now that the credit controls thus far imposed have done very little to slow consumer buying and that taxes are so far behind profits that it is ridiculous to expect Congress to tax enough next year to balance the two. Presidential advisers who thought controls might even be avoided altogether are now saying that something drastic may have to be done by the first of next year.

Naturally, the President was also influenced in moving slowly by the fact that the Republicans amended the controls act to require that wage ceilings be imposed whenever price ceilings are set. To have frozen wages before further increases would have been manifestly unfair to labor in numerous industries. By the end of this month, however, most of the unions will have won the 10 to 15 cents an hour increase that has been the pattern in most new contracts, and this argument for delay in controlling prices will be largely removed.

Meanwhile, savings continue to go down and profits to go up. Under the pressure of fast growing military expenditures, prices are generally expected to shoot up next year by more than the 10 percent they have risen since the Korean War began. Individuals saved one quarter less in the second quarter of 1950 than during the same period of 1949—a drop from $800 million to $600 million. At the same time mortgage debts increased $1.4 billion, and other consumer debts, $1.2 billion more.

Profits for the second three months of this year are 59 percent more than they were in 1949, after taxes, 34 percent more than they were in the record-breaking first quarter of this year. Of the 22 industries listed in the Federal Trade Commission report on profits, all but three showed increases in the second quarter of this year, with 14 industries—furniture, lumber, motor vehicles, and rubber among them—having profits more than 30 percent higher than in the first quarter. Total assets of manufacturing companies increased $3.7 billion just between March and June of 1950, to reach a peak of $115 billion.

Some planners at the Pentagon talk of a $57 billion military budget for the next fiscal year. Forty-five billion dollars is widely considered a probable figure. That would raise total federal spending to about $75 billion next year as compared to roughly $43 billion we shall spend in 1950. Some estimates would have us spending $75 billion just on military preparations by 1953. The full inflationary force of this flow of money from Washington will begin to be felt about January first, the experts think. What is done in the next two months to ready the nation for that economic shock, therefore, becomes of prime importance.

The naming of Dr. Alan Valentine, former president of the University of Rochester and lately an official of the Economic Coöperation Administration abroad, as the new Economic Stabilization Administrator, is a bad omen for American consumers. Dr. Valentine was almost a last resort. President Truman interviewed a long line

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of former officials from the wartime OPA and WPB, seeking a proper head for the new inflation-control agency. A succession of reasonably qualified men refused the invitation to the hottest seat in Washington. Exactly how Dr. Valentine finally came to be selected is still not clear, although one of the President's worst advisers, John Steelman, is suspected of having introduced his name. According to the New York *Post,* which has studied his past record, "Valentine at one time or another has indicated his opposition to the social-welfare programs of the New Deal and the Fair Deal; opposed the legislation which helped to save Britain from Nazi conquest; expressed dismay over centralized authority in the defense program; challenged the high cost of the Four Freedoms, and specifically derided the fight against poverty in Asia which is the essence of Mr. Truman's Point Four Program."

This is the man who, through oversight or lack of sight, has been placed in control of this country's fight against inflation at a crucial moment. The President must give Dr. Valentine careful orders and the closest surveillance in carrying them out in the opening stages of the economic battle just ahead, if we are to avoid the calamity of a homefront MacArthur.

THE WEEK

CLASH OF TWO WORLDS

LAKE SUCCESS *(NR correspondent)*

It is a foregone conclusion that the proposals of the United States for strengthening the General Assembly to meet aggression will be approved in the plenary session. Six other nations have joined the US in sponsoring and urging the draft resolution.

The general impression among the non-Soviet powers regarding the attack upon the resolution by Foreign Minister Andrei Y. Vishinsky of Soviet Russia was that he was sacrificing the spirit of the United Nations Charter for its strict letter. Is it a document of static and rigid nature, incapable of evolutionary change, or can it be construed without radical transformation to meet the exigencies of history? The United States and other co-sponsors of the measure to strengthen the power of the Assembly believe that the Charter can be legitimately interpreted in this fashion without doing violence to its text.

Behind the formal debate, of course, was the clash of two worlds. Soviet Russia faced defeat here, as it has been defeated on every other major stand it has championed in the present Assembly. This failure will be the most stunning of all, because involved in it is the nullification of its veto power as regards measures and sanctions against aggression. So long, however, as Russia's "peace offensive" continues around the globe, it will accept these defeats at Lake Success, where at least it has a forum to declaim against "war-mongering."

A disturbing fact which has escaped the attention of most observers here is the power of the Latin American bloc of dictators, which completely dominates the other Latin American nations at Lake Success. The dictator-bloc succeeded in having one of its spokesmen, Dr. Roberto Urdaneta Arbelaez, Chairman of the Colombian delegation, elected head of the powerful Political and Security Committee. The *ad hoc* Political Committee, to which is assigned the question of Franco Spain among other matters, is headed by Dr. Victor Andres Belaunde of Peru. Belaunde was originally chosen by the Latin-American states in a private session, as their candidate for the post. Some of these countries desired a secret ballot, planning to vote against him. Both at this meeting, however, and when the *ad hoc* committee elected its officers, he was chosen unanimously by a show of hands.

THE FREEMAN

A new magazine designed to be the intellectual organ of the conservatives appeared on the newsstands this month. *The Freeman,* which was once a leftist, though eccentric, publication, before it folded in 1924, has been revived as the voice of reaction, especially on Far Eastern affairs, under the editorship of John Chamberlain, Henry Hazlitt, and Suzanne LaFollette. Their financial angel is Alfred Kohlberg, kingpin of the China lobby, listed on the masthead as "treasurer." He is reported to have contributed 10 percent of the $130,000 needed to start the magazine rolling off the press.

Under the pretext of reviving "the John Stuart Mill concept of liberalism," the first issue carried articles by such extreme conservatives as George E. Sokolsky, Raymond Moley and John T. Flynn. The leading editorial announced: "Under a parliamentary system this fall's Congressional elections could be crucial and decisive . . . The real result of another Democratic victory at this time would, of course, be demoralizing. In the field of foreign policy Mr. Truman and Secretary Acheson would be encouraged to embark on even more costly errors. . . ."

That the *New Republic's* brand of liberalism is not to the editors' liking was evident in the first issue. The article by John T. Flynn, former NR columnist who has joined reaction's ranks, on the hazards of book publishing warned of "pink hatchetmen" book reviewers on the staffs of the *Saturday Review of Literature,* the *New Republic* and the *Nation.* William S. Schlamm's article on "Why Europe Resents Us" urges readers to study the conservative

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press abroad rather than "the petrified segments of its leftist public opinion. After all, London's *New Statesman and Nation* can not, in all fairness, be expected to improve upon our own *New Republic's* funny miscomprehension of America: the transfigured mood of suicide is equally characteristic of professional 'liberals' all around the globe."

CHILD LABOR VS. SCHOOL

AUSTIN, TEX. *(NR correspondent)*

West Texas cotton farmers have found a new way to circumvent the Fair Labor Standards Act which prohibits child labor "during school hours." They simply closed the schools.

The bulk of the West Texas cotton crop is gathered each Fall by migrant Latin American workers who come up from South Texas following the cotton-picking trail. The children of the migrant workers have never attended school because the cotton-picking family couldn't make enough money without the earnings of the children. Moreover, the schools in the area could not have accommodated the migrant children had they been forced to attend. When the US Department of Labor recently sent a leaflet to county agents and other farm leaders explaining that the law prohibits the employment of children during school hours, the farmers objected loudly. Then they demanded that the schools be closed during the cotton-picking season; some of them complied. Not more than five percent of the 1,700 children granted an unexpected vacation in Runnels County were actually picking cotton, according to the San Angelo *Standard-Times*. But all are now out of school so that some may work.

VARGAS COMES BACK

On October 3, 1950—twenty years to the day after his first "liberal revolution"—Getulio Vargas returned to power in Brazil through the democratic processes he had done his best to destroy. Vargas' smashing victory was the result of a nebulous myth and a very real inflation. To millions of Brazilian proletarians, the image of Vargas as *Pai dos Pobres*—Father of the Poor—promised relief from the spiraling rise in prices which the Dutra government had been powerless to control.

It was from Vargas that Argentina's dictator Peron drew inspiration, and there is a striking similarity between their programs. Vargas, to the dismay of his early liberal backers, overthrew democracy in his 1937 coup d'etat. Apparently, however, this was not what the masses of the people remembered. They thought rather of the 10 Years' Stability Law, designed to guarantee the jobs of long-time employees; of the Two-Thirds Law, which forced foreign companies to hire more Brazilians; of the Pension and Retirement Institutes; and of the laws protecting pregnant women.

The Dutra administration, elected after the Army forced Vargas out of office in 1945, provided unprecedented freedoms but proved unable to cope with the unstable economy it had inherited from the dictatorship. In the peaceful and admittedly fair election, the little-known Government candidate, Christiano Machado, ran a poor third. Latest returns show Vargas leading the second candidate, General Eduardo Gomes, who was supported by most intellectual and upper-class groups, by almost two to one. Vargas also seems certain to control sizable majorities in both houses of Parliament, which may enable him to put through laws to establish price controls, restore legal gambling and other popular measures.

LABOR UNITY

The International Association of Machinists—America's largest independent union—has resolved its differences with the American Federation of Labor and moved to reaffiliate to strengthen "labor unity." Five years ago, the IAM broke away from the AFL after a 40-year jurisdictional dispute with the Carpenters' Union and the Building Trades Department. AFL leaders at that time gave the building trades final control of the IAM. But under the new terms for affiliation, the IAM has a written agreement that it can retain its independence and will not be "bossed" by the Building Trades Department.

The unanimous decision to rejoin the AFL took place last week at a meeting of the IAM's 500 business agents in Chicago. In 1948, the IAM voted down a reaffiliation move, but at that time the officers were split. Harvey W. Brown, then union president, argued that the AFL had not given sufficient guarantees that the past trouble with the Carpenters would be settled.

The IAM will hold a referendum of its 602,000 members in January. Because of the decision of the officers, no real opposition is expected.

CALIFORNIA HOUSING CRISIS

SAN FRANCISCO (NR correspondent)

On November 7, Californians will vote on an amendment which may in the long run affect the future of public housing, slum clearance, and urban redevelopment across the nation. The national real estate-builder lobby is spending an estimated $1 million in California for passage of "Proposition 10," requiring that every public-housing project must be submitted to local referendum. Until now, the lobby has concentrated on "community level" campaigns, which have stopped public housing in Houston, Texas, Seattle, Washington, and Portland, Oregon. "Proposition 10," designed to kill public-housing programs in the entire state of California, is the lobby's most ambitious anti-housing maneuver yet. The real-estate lobby knows that if this measure becomes law, its chance of repealing the Federal Housing Act or weakening it by amendment in the next Congress will be greatly enhanced.

Governor Earl Warren and James Roosevelt are both opposing the amendment; so are the AFL, CIO, League of Women Voters, and numerous veterans' groups. The pro-housing forces are united under "Committees for Representative Government," headed by Republican State Senator Chris Jesperson. However, they are too short of funds to buy radio time, or even send out letters to the potential supporters of housing. They have no billboards to offset those which the "home protection" lobby has put up from San Diego to Oregon.

The National Association of Real

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Estate Boards, led by Herbert U. Nelson —now reported to be in California for the wind-up fight—picked a good state for their big push. The time, energies, and resources of many people who would otherwise concentrate on saving the housing program are divided among the campaigns of Helen Gahagan Douglas for US Senator, Roosevelt for Governor, and numerous liberal Congressional aspirants. The main hope for defeat of "Proposition 10" lies in the voters' awareness of California's chronically acute housing shortage due to the increase of population in the past decade.

AMERICANISM IN ACTION

The American Legion convention at Los Angeles was of far more service to Josef Stalin than to America. The Legion's leaders turned it into an irresponsibly partisan affair, apparently designed to give rabid reactionaries a further chance to attack Administration policies and smear them as "Communist."

Convention orators trained their guns on Stalin and Acheson indiscriminately. Representative Edith Nourse Rogers (R, Mass.) who announced to the Russian people that the US "will drive them from the face of the earth" was awarded the Legion's distinguished service medal. The other key speakers were one of the authors of the Mundt-Nixon Bill, Senator Karl Mundt (R, S.D.) and the violent, though often incoherent, defender of Chiang Kai-shek and enemy of Great Britain, Senator George Malone (R, Nev.). The nearest thing to any sort of fair hearing given to the other side was the appearance of former Secretary of Defense Louis Johnson, who was dismissed from the Truman cabinet for undercutting the policies of his colleague, Secretary Acheson.

The Legion's Americanism Commission whipped the convention into sufficient hysteria to pass dozens of violently irresponsible resolutions, among which were two urging that all American Communists be interned and tried as traitors and that the death penalty be made to apply to anyone convicted of espionage, sabotage or sedition, in time of peace as well as war.

Another veterans' organization last week revealed a "plot" to have the United Nations Flag supersede Old Glory. It seems the agriculture subcommittee of the Citizens' Committee for the United Nations Day (October 24) asked the Extension Service in the Department of Agriculture to have city and county courthouses fly the UN flag on that day. The Veterans of Foreign Wars attributed this "plot" to the influence of a "Russian adviser" in the Extension Service (M. L. Wilson, head of the Extension Service, which is considered the right wing of the Agriculture Department, once spent five months in Russia to study agriculture at the request of millionaire Montana wheat farmer Tom Campbell). The Daughters of the American Revolution took up arms with the VFW. Their President General, Mrs. James B. Patton, called on all members of the DAR "to resist the un-American effort which is being made to fly the flag of the United Nations above or in equal prominence with the Stars and Stripes."

OUTSIDE AMERICA

The Western European countries are seriously getting down to fighting Communist Fifth Columnism. The French are reorganizing and strengthening the DST (Direction de la Surveillance du Territoire) and the SDECE (Section de Documentation Exterieure et de Contre-Espionage). The police of Belgium, Holland and the Scandinavian countries are getting tougher. Even the British in their milder and less Erik Amblerish way are taking steps to frustrate what seems to be stepped-up boring-from-within. Nothing like the McCarran law is in sight. But the Minister of Labour has called upon public opinion to recognize and condemn the new Communist tactics, for example, building up phony rank-and-file movements to split big unions such as the Transport and General Workers' for the benefit of the Kremlining World Federation of Trade Unions. The police have been alerted for the November meeting in Sheffield, the important arms manufacturing center, of the equally Kremlining World Peace Conference.

It is in Italy however that the most dramatic steps are being taken, partly because the situation is potentially more serious, partly because the country breeds drama, and mostly because Fascism, which made political drama the circus of a neo-Roman *panem et circenses,* has arisen from the shallow grave in which it was buried. There is no doubt whatever that Italy's Number One Communist, Palmiro Togliatti, is also the Kremlin's Number One man in the Western world and that Italy's Number Two Communist, Luigi Longo, commands the equivalent of shock troop strength which does not exist in any other Western country. Though no one knows (or at least admits knowing) just how many of these secretly militarized Communists are ready to prove with guns in their hands that Italy will never act against the Soviet Union, it is fairly sure that there are enough of them to start a civil war; and it is also fairly sure that the quantity of arms they have managed to keep stored away since the Partisan days is not small.

Fascism, also, continues to thrive. On February 28, 1946, there were 11,368 condemned Fascists and collaborators of the extreme sort in jail. By 1948, 8,186 had been released unconditionally, and about 2,000 amnestied. Now there are only 982 left in jail.

Panfilo Gentile, one of the editors of the *Mondo,* the best moderate anti-Communist newspaper in Italy, writes:

> The ex-Fascists circulate freely; hold jobs in the government, the army and the courts; run daily and weekly newspapers; and remain as rich as they were. Moreover, the Fascist Party itself has been regularly reconstituted. It has representatives in the Chamber of Deputies. It holds meetings, carries out propaganda activities, enjoys all the democratic freedoms and uses them systematically to foster Fascism.

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The revival of Fascism does not correspond to any back-sliding in the feelings of the people; it is the direct result of the willingness (if not connivance) of such Right-wing Christian Democrats as Interior Minister Mario Scelba, Public Instruction Minister Guido Gonella, Deputy Reggio D'Aci and President Piccioni of the Christian Democratic Party, who have succeeded in dominating Premier Alcide de Gasperi. As for the attitude of the great masses of the people, the Manchester *Guardian* is quite right in pointing out that:

> There is not a country in Europe which cares less about the ideological issue between East and West or is more reluctant to make its choice between them. Any party which could solve Italy's internal problem, giving work at adequate rates of pay to five million industrial workers and nine million peasants, would gain the support of the country, whatever ideological regime it represented.

The new and dramatic steps being taken by the Italian Government to cope with Fifth Columnism need to be judged against the background of these facts: 1. the very real threat of Communist militancy; 2. the equally very real threat of an intense resurgence of Fascism; and 3., and not least, the apathy of the masses of the people.

The novelty among these steps is the project to create a voluntary, auxiliary, semi-militarized militia made up of former army officers and non-coms, Caribineers, finance guards and other "trustworthy anti-Communist elements." The New York *Times* comments:

> In the opinion of Government circles, the civil defense volunteers would be the Italian counterpart of the police force that the Russians are reported to have organized in Eastern Germany.

The Italian Government intends to add between 30,000 and 40,000 to the present police force of about 150,000 men, including the Caribineers. There will be thirty new "road police" sections and more "railroad police" groups. But the most important addition to the forces of Scelba will be eight more units of special, militarized police called *Reparto Celere della Pubblica Sicurezza* —Fast Squads of Public Safety. The men are all volunteers, all bachelors, mostly young, recruited from former officers and former prisoners of war who take courses in the regular police schools. Many are veterans of Mussolini's notorious *Polizia dell'Africa Italiana.* They serve three years at good pay, go through constant drilling of the Marine boot-camp variety, observe the strictest discipline, and live in tight groups kept away from any personal contacts with the people.

The *Celere* depends directly on General D'Antoni, head of the police in Scelba's ministry. Each man is always fully armed, wears a steel helmet, carries a tommy gun, a rubber blackjack (called a *sfollagente* or crowd-disperser), and a bag full of tear-gas grenades. Each squad is mounted on jeeps and supported by armored trucks and tanks.

Thus far the Italians who have been ridden down by the *Celere,* or blackjacked or shot by its men, have not been either the Communists or the Fascists; they have been the Italians who made the mistake of dropping their apathy about the conditions of poverty and misery in which millions still live (and die) despite the "democratic" government of de Gasperi and the huge sums of American money which have poured into its coffers.

PERCY WINNER

TAFT ON TRIAL

by James A. Maxwell

In the Kaufman-Ryskind musical comedy, "Of Thee I Sing," Alexander Throttlebottom worries about his mother's feeling of humiliation should she ever discover he is running for the Vice Presidency. "Listen," one of the professional politicians reassures him, "she'll never hear about it."

With some allowance for literary license, Joseph Ferguson is the Throttlebottom of the current senatorial race in Ohio. The Republicans pretend he doesn't exist and even the Democrats rarely mention him. Robert A. Taft is the star of both parties and his name appears on the covers of Democratic literature almost as frequently as it does on the handbills of his own organization. There is, of course, considerable difference of opinion as to the role he plays. To the Republicans, he is the honest, straight-shooting hero of a hundred battles against the Socialistic rustlers of the New and Fair Deals. To the Democrats, he is the rich, greedy banker out to foreclose a mortgage on all the ground gained by workers and farmers since 1933.

Taft himself is maintaining an incredible schedule to convince the voters that he is perfectly type-cast for the former part. The Senator began his campaign last year and, with the exception of the weeks he had to be in Washington, has worked ceaselessly at it ever since. He has been in each of the state's 88 counties at least once and expects to complete a second tour before November. During the first time around, he concentrated largely on the Democrats' domestic shortcomings, but the advent of the Korean war brought a shift in public interest and necessitated a radical change of attack.

In recent weeks, the Senator has been doing most of his shooting at Dean Acheson and the Far Eastern foreign policy. Taft follows the familiar line that the Democrats, by sins of omission, invited the attack in Korea and turned China over to the Communists. He insists that Truman's ordering of the fleet to the waters around Formosa was a move in line with what he, Taft, had urged months before.

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Despite the vigor of the Senator's speeches since the 38th Parallel was violated, many Republican leaders freely express their dismay at the change of emphasis in the campaign. Only the most blind of Taft followers claim that he is at his best in foreign relations and the Democrats are gleefully digging up all of the Senator's not exactly penetrating predictions of the past.

Gazing into the crystal ball is a hazardous hobby at best for a politician but it becomes calamitous when the office holder is troubled with recurrent myopia. Here are a few of the prophecies which have played their part in reducing the election betting odds from about five to one in Taft's favor to even money today:

"It is simply fantastic to suppose that there is any danger of an attack on the United States by Japan. . . ." (Feb. 16, 1941.)

"There is much less danger to this country from Hitler today than there was two years ago; certainly much less than there was one year ago." (Sept. 22, 1941.)

"There is not much evidence that the Russians contemplate military aggression." (Sept. 7, 1949.)

Recent Taft words have also dismayed a number of his followers. Some of them have privately voiced the wish that the Senator had restricted his opposition to the appointment of George Marshall as Secretary of Defense to private grumbling. "Why does he have to yell it from the rooftops every time he disagrees?" the editor of one of the state's most influential papers and a strong pro-Taft man said unhappily the other day. "If he'd only speak out on every other issue it wouldn't be so tough. But to kick a general in the shins right in the middle of a war. . . ."

Until fairly recently, Taft campaigners have been promoting their candidate as the coldly analytical, hard-working, statesmanlike intellectual. Now, however, there is a strong tendency to talk about him as if he were a hybrid of Dale Carnegie and the late Will Rogers. Campaign buttons and billboards urge the voters to support "Bob" Taft. Chairmen of meetings have come to favor the familiar appellation. An early October issue of the Cincinnati *Enquirer* had the following lead on a story covering one of the Senator's rural visits: "Sen. Robert A. Taft eased into a folksy Bob Taft as he toured friendly Republican country today urging Republicans to turn out in numbers November 7 to help offset efforts against him in urban centers." Just why the Party strategists feel that Rotarian chumminess is necessary to produce votes is not entirely clear, especially since their candidate is obviously ill-at-ease as a back-slapper. "You got to be close to the voters," one Republican worker said in an attempt to explain the effort. "If we were running Charles Evans Hughes, we'd probably bill him as 'Chuck'."

But whether the first name is given as Bob or Robert, the Taft forces have no cause for complaint over the number of times the last name appears. Billboards blanket the state. Newspapers report his every move and utterance with the solicitude of doting grandparents. As this is being written, every daily newspaper in Ohio which has endorsed a candidate for the Senate—and the great majority have already given their preference—has come out for Taft. Even in an era when the Northern press is largely Republican, such unanimity is unique.

Republican leaders should certainly be losing no sleep because of an unfriendly press and they should be equally free of the need for barbiturates because of money problems. While campaign managers are usually as reluctant to discuss finances as movie stars are to reveal their ages, there is ample evidence that the Taft forces have no pressing need for red ink. In addition to the aforementioned billboards, there are generously staffed offices scattered all over the state; radio and television time is purchased with the open hand of a Procter and Gamble; multi-colored booklets are published with a message for every segment of the population. Are you an ex-serviceman? Read "The Veterans and Bob Taft." Are you a Negro? See "Ohio Voters Ask Their Senator." The

"Forward!"

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various sections of the body politic are as carefully compartmentalized as they are in a well-run consumer survey.

While Ohio businessmen have contributed handsomely to the Taft campaign, they have not had to bear the entire burden. Since there is a tacit admission in both political camps that Ohio's senatorial race is a test between the Fair Deal and conservative Republicanism, out-of-state GOP supporters and a number of Dixiecrats are helping to make certain that all will not be lost because of lack of financial nourishment.

Labor, which is Taft's principal opponent, apparently is also untroubled by a dollar-famine. The CIO and AFL are coördinating their attack upon the Senator and are spending money freely to retire him to private life. Almost the entire emphasis of labor's literature is anti-Taft. Usually there is some suggestion in the back of any given booklet that the voter put an "X" opposite Joseph Ferguson's name, but that is obviously a concession to the failure of the ballot to provide a direct means of voting against a candidate. Here are a few of the titles of AFL and CIO brochures: "The Robert Alphonso Taft Story," "The Taft Record," "Robert A. Taft, The Record of His 12-Year Fight Against the General Welfare of the American People."

Democratic Party leaders are not entirely happy about labor's aggressive part in the campaign. They are sensitive to Republican jibes that the Party is becoming a minor adjunct to the two large union movements but, on the other hand, they know that without labor's highly zealous block workers, the badly organized Democratic machine would be almost useless. The unions, for example, are the main reason why Ohio's 1950 registration is the largest in history. One CIO official dismissed the disquietude of the Democrats with a hollow laugh. "What in hell would we have if we *did* take them over," he said. "In Ohio, that would be like capturing the Trotskyite movement."

Joseph Ferguson, who is the indirect beneficiary of the anti-Taft campaign, is living evidence of the ineptitude of the Ohio Democrats and, to a lesser degree, of the failure of labor to recognize the importance of primary elections. His supporters discuss him with a kind of friendly contempt, and there seems to be concerted effort to restrict his operations to the realm of handshaking. The few speeches he has made which have had wide press coverage have been acutely embarrassing to his adherents. His radio appearances have been marked by pre-adolescent ideas delivered in the style of someone who has only recently mastered the rudiments of the language. Most Democrats discuss Ferguson's intellectual deficiencies with complete candor. "Our job is to keep Joe from talking too much and keep him miles away from Taft," one of them said recently. "If Ferguson were ever sucker enough to debate Taft, there wouldn't be anything left of our boy to sweep up."

Ferguson is a county-courthouse politician with a proven ability to garner votes—at least for the job as State Auditor. He was elected to that position for the fourth time in 1948 with the largest plurality of any Democratic state candidate in Ohio's history. He has a personal political organization of imposing strength in the state, which was more than adequate to dispose of Mike Di Salle and Henry Busch, who were his opponents in the Democratic primary. Di Salle, the mayor of Toledo, was comparatively unknown in the rest of Ohio. Busch, a professor at Western Reserve, was a newcomer as a candidate.

Both the Democratic Party and labor knew long before the May primary what a weight Ferguson would be, but neither group made any real effort to halt his nomination. The Party didn't interfere because it has neither the leadership nor the following. Labor failed because it placed all of its hopes on Murray Lincoln of the Farm Bureau and, when he refused to run unless he could do so without a contest (Ferguson refused to withdraw), the CIO and AFL had to accept whatever candidate emerged from the lightly attended election. If Ferguson is elected, he is expected to be just another party wheel horse. "My God," a Democrat said the other day, "think of Ohio with *two* Brickers in the Senate."

Possibly there is some historical advantage in having a candidate as weak as Ferguson opposing Taft. The contest thus focuses entirely upon Taft and his record. The Senator is in trouble with the farmers because of his votes on such matters as price parities and crop storage facilities; with the Negroes because of his opposition to an FEPC law with penalties; with labor unions because of the Taft-Hartley Law; with the internationalist-minded citizenry because of his curiously erratic ideas and actions in foreign policy—to list but a few of his burdens.

Whether Taft wins despite these handicaps or collapses under their weight will undoubtedly have important repercussions throughout the Republican Party nationally. The title, Mr. Republican, fits him well. If he is elected, the conservatives will be immeasurably strengthened in their position and will have the leadership of the hardest-working, toughest fighter in their army. If he loses, a final verdict on old-fashioned Republicanism will have been delivered.

James Maxwell, a native Cincinnatian, is a free-lance writer whose work appears frequently in the "New Yorker" Magazine. He has also written for "Holiday," the "Reporter," and "The Saturday Review of Literature."

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REMEMBER THE ATOM!

by Peter Kihss

IN THE GENERAL committee of the United Nations General Assembly the other day, Assembly President Nasrollah Entezam, of Iran, proposed that a plenary session discuss the problem of atomic energy this year directly.

The impending discussion will mark the first time in UN history that an item of this kind has ever bypassed the usual preliminary study by a main Assembly committee. But Mr. Entezam succinctly explained: "Nothing new has happened since last year. The Atomic Energy Commission has not submitted any proposals. The General Assembly should discuss the question directly." He looked around. Silence. "Approved."

Four days later, with equal absence of comment, this procedure was approved by the full Assembly. Late this month or early next, there will be an Assembly debate on the atom.

This was the first instance of unanimity on atomic energy in any UN body since the early days, back in January 1946, when the Assembly first hopefully voted to set up an Atomic Energy Commission. But this was not the kind of unanimity that was worth cheering about.

For the situation showed only too well that most UN delegates have stopped doing much thinking about the atom. At least most Western delegates have become apathetic about the atom. Today, the West is generally leaving the UN atomic field—almost by default—as a field in which the Soviet Union may frolic. And Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Vishinsky will do his best to carry the UN atomic ball toward a world Soviet propadanda goal.

But is a Soviet propaganda triumph something the West should desire? Isn't there something better than default, even in debate? Isn't there something worthwhile the West might do atomically even in this year of Korea?

The Soviet Union has made the atom Part Two of Mr. Vishinsky's projected 1950 UN "Declaration on the Removal of the Threat of a New War and the Strengthening of Peace and Security among the Nations." To the UN delegates, it is an old story. The Soviet Union is demanding prohibition of atomic weapons, "a strict system of international control" left as fuzzily undefined as in the very earliest Soviet UN atomic speeches, and indictment of the first government using atomic weapons in warfare as a war criminal. That last would block use of atomic weapons even against an aggressor. These days, the whole formula is called the Stockholm Appeal.

Some people are interested in the atom. The Stockholm Appeal, soothingly simple as it seems, sounds good to some good citizens. Deluded they may be, but in the contest for men's allegiance they are voters of the great electorate of this world. And what are the non-Soviet members of the UN offering them? Up to this moment, not very much.

Western delegates generally have been branding the Stockholm Appeal as a Moscow master-minded maneuver, and this has been their main answer. They have stated that the Soviet Union has blocked the UN plan for atomic control, which is true enough. And they have let the tilting go at that.

It would seem better to offer some clearer and more constructive effort on the atom in the UN, even in this year of UN war in Korea, this year of a hotter cold war, this year of a potential hydrogen bomb in which the old uranium bomb would be only a trigger.

The atom has two aspects, and both could well command some thinking in this year's General Assembly. One is the obsessing problem of atomic weapons. The weapon phase of atomic energy is the Stockholm Appeal's *raison d'etre.*

But why are there atomic weapons?

The UN's answer could be simple:

There are atomic weapons in the world today primarily because the Soviet Union has refused to accept the kind of strict international control which virtually every UN member (except Israel, South Africa and Yugoslavia) outside the Soviet bloc has voted to be necessary. This control would mean actual UN operation of major atomic activities, plus thoroughgoing checkups on the world's uranium and thorium.

There are atomic weapons in this world today, moreover, because there is a fear of Soviet aggression—and a knowledge that the Soviet Union more than a year ago achieved an atomic explosion.

There is no mightier weapon in men's military arsenals than the atomic weapon—be it the old-fashioned uranium bomb, the theoretical shower of radioactive sands, or the potential hydrogen edition—for use in an all-out Pearl Harbor attack by an aggressor. The atomic weapon may not be decisive, as the Russians so long have contended.

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But it is certainly going to be tremendously destructive.

So on this dark side of the atom, the 1950 General Assembly might put its mind to the question and answer the Stockholm Appeal and Mr. Vishinsky with this kind of a resolution:

Whereas, the strict international control of atomic energy agreed on by nine members of the Security Council on June 22, 1948, and by 40 members of the General Assembly on November 4, 1948 and 49 members of the General Assembly on November 23, 1949, has been blocked by opposition of a single great power, the Soviet Union,

The Assembly,

1. Reaffirms its recommendation that all member nations accept the UN plan for control of atomic energy,

2. Recommends that negotiations among the United States, Great Britain, France, China, Canada and the Soviet Union reconvene to explore unanswered questions on prohibition of atomic weapons, stages and timing of controls, protection of minorities and organization of a control agency —and also to afford an opportunity for the Soviet Union to offer technological testimony which in earlier years it has claimed inability to offer,

3. Recommends, meantime, that member nations refrain from use of atomic weapons except in individual or collective measures of self-defense—recognized by Article 51 of the Charter—against aggression committed in violation of UN principles and purposes.

In addition, the UN could well look at the other side of the atom, the brighter side, the friendlier side. This, too, is too much forgotten by the UN. This, too, could offer an answer to the Moscow manipulators of the Stockholm Appeal. And in this, the Assembly could find a positive opportunity for the UN and mankind.

This is the peaceful promise of the atom, virtually ignored by UN delegates during 1950, save for renewed but unheeded appeals by Carlos P. Romulo, Philippine Foreign Secretary and President of last year's General Assembly. General Romulo suggested that study of present peaceful uses of atomic energy might disclose them to be so limited that delegates might agree on a simplified form of controls for the time being.

General Romulo's hope for this way out of the control deadlock is hardly likely to win acceptance. In the first place, the Soviet Union rejected last year even the principle of quotas on production, which Andrei A. Gromyko had once said might ease agreement—but which Mr. Vishinsky argued, after the Soviet atomic explosion, might impede Soviet atomic development. In the second place, the larger-scale plants are those turning out nuclear fuels usable some day for power—but at the moment representing the chief ingredient of atomic weapons.

Nevertheless, there is a bright promise and a broad field for exploration in atomic energy even today, in the use of radioactive materials in research and medicine. And these materials—radioisotopes—are available in quantity from atomic piles.

And yet this is the phase of atomic energy which may turn up clues to conquer major diseases like cancer or open up new ways to satisfy men's hungers by unraveling the mysteries of photosynthesis, the process by which plants make the sun's energy usable for animals, including man.

The UN could at least in part answer those who are fretful over its long atomic frustrations and display the creativeness which is the non-Communist world's best answer to Soviet Communism, by doing something about this side of the atom:

1. The UN could set up a system for channeling radioisotopes from atomic piles of coöperating nations for medical and research uses. The UN's World Health Organization has already been sending US Atomic Energy Commission radioisotopes to Latin American countries for nearly two years. A widened distribution system would apply the same conditions of solely peaceful use for supplying open laboratories. Once again the effort would show who works for a better world—and who doesn't.

2. The UN could set about regularly publishing the results of such research in a form freely available to scientists everywhere. There would be a UN precedent for this as well. For the UN's atomic energy secretariat has published a comprehensive scientific bibliography in this field, and its radio division has publicized work done with Oak Ridge radioisotopes in such diverse places as Mount Sinai Hospital, New York, and the Shamrock textile factory, Paterson, N. J.

3. The UN might even extend the necessary preliminary funds to plan an atomic laboratory, set up and maintained by groups of its member nation, as the first of its long-envisioned world scientific laboratories. It could then marshal brains of men from many countries to tackle peaceful problems with the tools of radioisotopes. This would simply be carrying forward proposals which the United States, through Dr. Isidor I. Rabi, American delegate-scientist, has already espoused this year in the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. It would be moving along lines envisaged by the Economic and Social Council when it took up last August a report by a special UN committee of eight scientists, and decided on top priority plans for an international computation center for mathematicians. An atomic laboratory might be more dramatic—and produce perhaps more striking results.

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WAGES AND INFLATION

by Louis Walinsky

ORGANIZED labor will be under increasingly heavy attack in the coming months as the country becomes more inflation conscious and the unions push their drive for wage increases in the major industries. The press is already charging labor with pouring oil on the inflationary flame and demanding that labor leaders ask no further raises.

Are workers, by and large, entitled to a wage increase now? Would such wage raises force already steep prices still higher?

The evidence indicates that American workers deserve a larger share of the national income and that basic industry, on the whole, can afford to pay higher wages without raising prices any further.

From the first half of 1946, when the postwar inflation really got underway, to the first half of 1950, average hourly pay in manufacturing industries rose from $1.04 to $1.43, an increase of 37.5 percent. During that time, the Consumers Index of prices of goods workers were buying rose 28.1 percent. That meant a real increase in average hourly earnings of only 7.3 percent. The average worker's productivity or output, during that same period, according to the President's Council of Economic Advisers, increased almost 11 percent. In other words, wage increases between 1946 and 1950 were considerably below the gains to which labor was entitled on the basis of the increase in productive efficiency alone.

In those same years, corporate profits after taxes rose from $10.3 billion in the first half of 1946 to an annual rate of $19.4 billion in the first half of 1950, an increase of 88.3 percent. When we adjust corporate profits in the first half of 1950 for the price increases which have occurred since the first half of 1946, the rise in the buying power of corporate profits is still 47 percent, compared with labor's real gain of only 7 percent.

Labor's monetary gains in the post-war period were largely dissipated by increases in the cost of living; real wages increased far less than did workers' output; industry's price policies were based on what the traffic would bear; and profits in consequence enjoyed a spectacular rise at the expense of workers and consumers. Since June, there has been a further increase in the cost of living, as well as a spectacular rise in the rate of profits to probably $23 billion or more after taxes for this year. And the increases which have taken place in consumers' prices since Korea reflect in only a small degree the substantial increases in wholesale and commodity prices which have yet to be reflected in retail prices. Thus, labor's current claim for wage increases is solidly based on at least two factors: the notable lag of real wages during the post-war period in comparison with increases in productive efficiency and with profits, and price increases both actual and latent since the outbreak of fighting in Korea.

But would wage raises only inaugurate a new wage-price inflationary spiral?

The largest price increases which have occurred since the outbreak of fighting in Korea have been in raw materials and commodities. These higher prices were not the "inevitable" result of wage or other cost increases. They came simply from a scramble by buyers to accumulate potentially scarce materials, and a decision by sellers to take advantage of the buyers' eagerness and willingness to pay higher prices. The price increases in raw material, commodity and wholesale markets are now being translated into higher costs and higher prices for manufactured products. Mark-ups are taking place all along the line from fabricators to distributors. The current inflation is largely divorced from any relation to higher labor costs, and will continue to result in increases in consumers' prices as the weeks go by, irrespective of what happens to wages.

While most of the growing number of price increases in manufactured goods have been independent of any wage increases, there have been a number of cases in which very recent rises in labor costs were cited to justify the higher prices. It is demonstrable that so far as the giant corporations in basic American industries are concerned, upward wage adjustments at this time can easily be absorbed without price increases. This is abundantly clear in such industries as automobiles, electric products and steel. Corporations in these industries by and large are earning such huge profits that wage adjustments in 1950 can easily be absorbed without being passed on to the consumers of their products in the form of higher prices.

To be specific: General Motors earned a profit of $656 million after taxes in 1949, about $1.12 per hour for every one of its production employees, and almost 37 percent on every dollar of stockholders' investments in the corporation. For the first six months of 1950, General Motors' profits after taxes were at an annual rate of

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$971 million, and were still moving upwards. The 19-cent per hour "package" won by General Motors' employees last spring, augmented by the five-cent per hour cost-of-living adjustment since that time, would increase the corporation's costs by only some $200 million a year. On an after-taxes basis, and at the new tax rates, this would reduce profits by about $110 million a year, still leaving General Motors with profits after taxes of approximately $860 million, a return of about 40 percent on every stockholder's dollar. Wages could be increased at the General Motors Corporation and still leave ample room for price reductions on General Motors products. But GM has already announced a price increase for Frigidaires.

Recent negotiations with the General Electric Company resulted in a settlement for a wage and welfare "package" of approximately 16 cents per hour. GE, which earned record profits after taxes of some $126 million in 1949, reported an annual rate of earnings of $155 million after taxes in the first half of 1950, almost 25 percent in excess of the record-breaking profits earned last year—a return of about 25 percent on every stockholders' dollar invested in the Company. If this wage adjustment recently won by the CIO International Union of Electrical Workers were extended to all GE's production employees, it would cost the Company something less than $25 million a year after taxes. That would still leave the Company with profits larger than the record-breaking $126 million earned last year, and a return of more than 20 percent on every stockholders' dollar. It is plain that GE did not need to raise its prices on major household appliances, as it did immediately after the recent wage settlement, "in order to compensate for higher labor costs."

So far as the steel industry is concerned, it will be remembered that last fall the President's Fact-Finding Board found that that industry could not only absorb the cost of workers' pensions, but could actually reduce steel prices and still earn satisfactory profits. The Fact-Finding Board went so far as to say that if the industry did not reduce its prices, labor would certainly be justified in coming back for higher wages later on. The steel industry, needless to say, did not reduce its prices. It raised them, far more than enough to compensate for the cost of the new pension programs adopted. And the profits of 33 leading iron and steel corporations increased from $315 million in the first half of 1949 to $375 million in the first half of 1950, a rise of 19 percent. From the second quarter of 1949 to the second quarter of 1950, the increase in net income was from $134 million to $215 million, a rise of 60 percent! The steel industry is in an even better position to absorb a labor cost increase today than the President's Board found it to be in last year.

But regardless of the plain fact that a new round of wage increases is possible, by and large, without raising prices in the industries immediately concerned, the current round of wage adjustments may well be inflationary. That constitutes a problem of national concern. It does not mean, however, that workers should not now get the wage increases to which they are entitled in order to correct existing inequities among wages, prices and profits. It cannot mean that a worker should not be fairly rewarded for his contribution to the production process. We cannot say to the worker, "You may have earned a wage increase, but we cannot permit you to have it now because that would be inflationary," any more than we can say to the millionaire stockholder, "We cannot permit you to receive your dividend checks, because that would be inflationary." The remedy for inflation lies, not in preventing the receipt of justified income, but in neutralizing its inflationary potential.

Suppose general wage increases are not granted. Unless prices are reduced, profits and dividends would be larger. Those larger profits and larger dividends would themselves be inflationary, although not necessarily to the same extent. An inflationary problem would still be there. The real question is not whether inflationary influences will have to be controlled, but rather at which points and to what degree anti-inflationary policies will have to be applied on corporate profits, on stockholders' income, or on workers' income.

The answer to this does not lie in a comparison of the inflationary potential of a given sum in corporate profits and dividends with a given sum in the worker's pay envelope. The important thing is to determine what steps can be taken to minimize the inflationary potential of wage raises on the prices of goods bought by the worker. The higher individual income tax rates recently enacted will contribute toward this end. New curbs on credit buying will limit purchasing and may divert a sizable portion of workers' income toward repayment of the huge debts they have already incurred. An intensive campaign to sell US Savings Bonds is needed and we should consider whether wage increases should not be paid in Savings Bonds which would be non-cashable for the duration of the national emergency.

But what if, as seems only too likely to be the case, wage increases are followed by unnecessary price increases in many of the industries affected? The best way to forestall such increases, short of direct price controls, is to enact an excess-profits tax so severe that it will leave industries capable of absorbing wage increases with little or no incentive to raise prices.

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HAROLD L. ICKES: *What Is A Democrat?*

ONE OF THE sharpest contrasts in the Senate is that between Senators Pat McCarran of Nevada and Herbert H. Lehman of New York. McCarran has served for three terms and he is now asking the voters of his state to select him again. Lehman was elected in 1949 to fill a vacancy caused by the resignation of Senator Robert F. Wagner. The variance between these two is all the greater because both call themselves Democrats.

Both McCarran and Lehman have had distinguished records—distinguished with a difference as wide as the distance between the poles. Few men have worked in the interest of the public more intelligently, more conscientiously and more assiduously than has the junior Senator from New York. He had the advantage of coming to Washington with a record of outstanding accomplishments. Four times elected Governor of New York, Lehman served the people of his state with understanding and with distinction. He was the first Director General of UNRRA, having been unanimously elected by the 44 nations which set up that relief organization. Senator Lehman has an unusual record as a man active in many civilian fields seeking to promote the public welfare. He has been a strong champion of minority groups, among them the Jews and the Negroes.

Patrick A. McCarran also had a record when the people of Nevada, in a moment of aberration, which unfortunately was not temporary, elected him Senator. His autobiography shows no war record during the First World War, but he has been in public life for a long time, much longer indeed than has been good for the country. Starting as a member of the Nevada state legislature in 1903, he has since then, without appreciable interruption, lived on the public. At one time, he was briefly even Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Nevada. After 18 years' service in the United States Senate, he has a record, so far as the public welfare is concerned, that compares unfavorably with Senator Lehman's in his one year of service.

Lehman has shown industry, imagination and real courage. When a measure is proposed to promote the public welfare or protect our cherished form of government, he will fight for it, even if he is on the losing side. He has convictions and the courage of them. He would scorn a noisy popularity at the sacrifice of principle. Clamor and hysteria make him all the more determined to defend the people's priceless heritage of freedom. He is not one to run with the sheep, or to yell "Fire" in a crowded theater.

Senator McCarran is a "Democrat" of an entirely different sort. He is not above making bipartisan deals to improve his political fortunes both within and outside of Nevada. One day, to enrich the silver interests of his state, he can help wreck the finances of China, which are based upon silver. The next, he can shed crocodile tears because the Government has decided no longer to pour billions down the rat-holes of Chiang Kai-shek. As Chairman of the powerful Judiciary Committee of the Senate, he has been known to manipulate hearings so as to prevent the confirmation of men for Federal judgeships who would have added credit and prestige to the judiciary. A man of distorted vision and unworthy prejudices, he has been swayed, as a member of the Senate, by his astigmatism and his hates. He fought bitterly against more liberal immigration laws.

With energy and persistence worthy of a better cause, this man McCarran has tried for years to exploit the public domain in the interest of the big stockmen who are his principal political supporters. He has been particularly vicious in his attacks upon the property rights of Indians. Year after year, he has introduced and pressed bills to give white trespassers title to rich agricultural lands owned by the Indians in the neighborhood of Pyramid Lake, Nevada. His latest exploit has been to bring about the removal of E. Feesman Fryer, as Indian Superintendent for Nevada, a man who has been doing his honest best to protect those property rights which the courts have held belong to the Indians of McCarran's state.

When McCarran found that he could not push Superintendent Fryer around, he brought pressure to bear on the new Indian Commissioner, Dillon Myer. He had an easier time there. Disregarding the wishes of the Pyramid Lake Indians, and also without consulting Secretary of the Interior Oscar Chapman, his superior, Myer issued an order, to be effective October 15, transferring Fryer to the Colville Indian agency in the State of Washington. Myer also peremptorily ordered Fryer to discontinue his efforts to secure for the Indians valuable water rights in the Truckee River that belong to them, while at the same time sending a reassuring telegram to that ruthless despoiler of the Indians, Pat McCarran. Truman blocked the move. McCarran is in a tight race and doubtless thinks that, by throwing his weight behind those who wish to possess themselves of Indian property rights, he will get the vote of every white squatter or would-be squatter in the state. HAROLD L. ICKES

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

CONCERNING THE PREVALENCE OF WITCHES

by Malcolm Cowley

THE PARALLEL between the Salem witchcraft trials of 1692 and the loyalty crusade of our own time has been drawn by many writers, and most effectively by James R. Newman in the *New Republic* of October 24, 1949. There is one point, however, at which the parallel seems on first glance to be inaccurate. "You forget," people keep saying, "that the Communist danger is real. The witches never existed."

But of course they existed. Perhaps there were no male or female witches in Salem in 1692, as Marion L. Starkey holds in her reasonable book, *The Devil in Massachusetts,* so that all the victims of the famous persecution were not only innocent of wrongdoing but innocent of knowledge about the crime for which they were hanged. That has happened in other trials, in other countries, and the ghost of Cotton Mather walks the streets of bigger cities than Salem. On the other hand, witches were fairly numerous in the British Isles and one would surmise that there must have been a few of them in New England—if not organized into cells or covens of thirteen members, then living as lonely adherents of the witchcraft cult.

It was indeed a cult; that is the fact to be deduced from the testimony of defendants at witchcraft trials throughout Europe. We can no longer believe that all the hangings, burnings and pressings to death in which hundreds of thousands perished from the fifteenth well into the eighteenth century, with a single judge condemning 20,000 persons to the stake—that all these holocausts and hecatombs were purely the results of a delusion. The judges and inquisitors must have had real objects for their wrath, as have the inquisitors today. Some at least of their victims had joined a proscribed organization, in token of which they carried a little mark tattooed beneath their left nipples as a sort of party card. Even the innocent—who must have been a vast majority of those charged with witchcraft—were not sacrificed to blind fear, but rather to a policy that was thought to strengthen the state.

It must be made clear that the parallel is not between witchcraft and Communism, but between two waves of hysteria. Witchcraft was not a social theory; it was a primitive cult that believed in the possibility of controlling natural forces by sympathetic magic. Its few points of resemblance to Communism, in matters of behavior, were those to be expected in any two sects that survive in conditions of secrecy and persecution. In that respect, however, the story of the witches is worth retelling.

Recently I found a copy of *The Witch-Cult in Western Europe,* by Margaret A. Murray (Oxford, 1921), a book that should certainly be reprinted in this country. Miss Murray was, I believe, the first trained anthropologist to study the documents relating to witchcraft. She read the testimony given at hundreds of trials and came to the conclusion that by no means all of it was elicited by torture or was based on the hope of escaping death by making a false confession. Some of the defendants were men and women of strong character who refused to implicate others and went to the stake proclaiming their faith in the religion—for such it was—by which they had lived.

Once Miss Murray had decided that much of the testimony at witchcraft trials was to be accepted as a more or less accurate account of what went on at the witches' meetings—their *esbats* and their sabbaths—she was able to draw up an outline of the religion, with its organization and its ritual. There are points at which she obviously goes too far, in her explorer's enthusiasm; on the other hand, it seems to me that her principal conclusions are not only correct but open a new field for research.

Briefly, she believes that witchcraft was the survival of a very old pagan cult; in Italy it is still called "the old religion," *la vecchia religione.* The cult was originally devoted to the worship of Janus, the two-faced god, also known as Dianus; and in later times the female deity of the witches was Diana. For many centuries the cult flourished obscurely among the peasants, without attracting much attention from church or state; but after the wars and pestilences of the fourteenth century it began to spread and found adherents even among the nobles; for example, Gilles de Retz, also called Bluebeard, seems to have been a high official of the witches. The first international campaign against witchcraft was carried on with papal encouragement from 1434 to 1447. Later there were to be enormous witch-hunts, like Australian rabbit drives, in Germany, Denmark and Sweden; and the persecutions continued in some European countries until the French revolution. In Peru a witch was burned at the stake in 1888.

Who were these enemies of the state and the established church who perished by the hundreds of thousands? Miss Murray believes that the real witches were adherents of a fertility cult that was intended primarily to assure its members of crops, cattle and children, and secondarily to deny those benefits to its enemies. Later, when witches became outcasts, their secondary purpose of revenging themselves by denying fertility to others was emphasized at the expense of their primary purpose. They were not the first or the last group to become malicious and harmful in fact through being declared criminal under the law. By the seventeenth century the witch-cult had become a sort of inverted Christianity, devoted to doing evil deeds and worshiping the Devil.

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We learn from court testimony that the Devil was present at the witches' ceremonial meetings, or sabbaths, and that he had sexual union with many of his worshipers. Miss Murray makes the obvious deduction that the Devil was a man, the head of the cult for any given region, who was recognized as a living god. The animal disguise in which he appeared—usually that of a two-headed goat or ram or bull or cat—was a ceremonial costume made of leather that he assumed for the occasion.

Witches were organized into congregations, each of which was governed by a board of thirteen elders, men or women; these formed a coven. The two great festivals of the cult were May Eve (April 30; later May 2) and November Eve (Hallowe'en); its two minor festivals were Candlemas Day and Lammas Day. A sabbath was a general convocation of witches, usually held at one of the great festivals; before attending it, the witches smeared themselves with an ointment containing strong drugs that may have given them the illusion of flying. The sabbath began with a religious ceremony and usually ended with a sexual orgy and a feast. An *esbat* was a weekly meeting of the coven to discuss unfinished business, such as shriveling a neighbor's barley or raising a tempest to blow down his house.

The witches believed devoutly in their power to cast evil spells. Sometimes the spells worked, especially if the victims heard about them and were no less superstitious than the witches. When the spells failed, most witches were not too other-worldly to supplement their black magic with practical and, so to speak, scientific measures; for example, when one coven cursed a Scotch barley field and it didn't wither, the thirteen witches climbed through a hedge and trampled the barley into the mud. On another occasion, when their spells weren't strong enough to make a barn collapse, the witches heaved together and pushed it over. One of the amusing passages in Miss Murray's book is her long account of how the witches tried by various means, both natural and supernatural but always futile, to murder James VI of Scotland. If James, then unmarried, had died without issue, the Earl of Bothwell would have been an heir to the throne. Bothwell was head of the Scottish witches and so the country would literally have been ruled by the Devil.

Miss Murray doesn't discuss one subject that seems to me of primary importance: the social background of the witch-cult. With less historical knowledge than hers, I should judge that it flourished in impoverished regions and in times of social upheaval. Some of its leaders were powerful men like Bothwell and Gilles de Retz, but most of its ordinary adherents were peasants who had lost their land, lost their faith in church and society, then turned to the Devil for solace. In that sense the witch-cult was a twisted and hopeless form of proletarian revolt. The great crusades against witches, which were entirely disproportionate to the strength of the little sect, might be explained in part by fear of insurrection; when the authorities burned a few thousand peasants here and there, they were keeping the others in their places.

It might even be argued that the judges in witchcraft trials were following a sound policy—with regard to their own interests—when they punished the innocent along with the guilty. The defendants in witchcraft cases were never completely innocent from the standpoint of their judges. Sometimes their crime was extreme poverty; sometimes it was feeblemindedness; sometimes they were malicious or merely queer persons who had made themselves unpopular with their neighbors; in many of the recorded trials the witches were intellectuals who had made the mistake of holding unorthodox opinions. Society was thought to be better off without them.

The persecutions did not stamp out witchcraft, which lasted as long as the

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conditions that gave rise to it (even today I know two women who have read the books and regard themselves as practising witches). What the persecutions did in most countries was to strengthen the prevailing religion, whatever it might be, and the prevailing economic order. The Salem trials were one of the few exceptions. In Salem the evidence against the victims was so nebulous and their deaths were so widely mourned that orthodoxy in Massachusetts never wholly recovered from its part in the trials.

THE DEMOCRATIC ELITE

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND FOREIGN POLICY, by Gabriel A. Almond (Harcourt, Brace; $3.75).

THIS VOLUME attacks the crucial problem: Is a democratic foreign policy possible? Almond documents the shifting course of American attitudes. Americans have been high-minded and sordid, doubtful and hopeful. At times they have withdrawn from the world; at other times they have embraced it. Such disparities of "mood" have not only operated historically, but exist in every situation, whichever viewpoint is momentarily dominant. Public opinion is neither consistent nor cohesive. How, then, can there be a consistent and cohesive foreign policy?

If public opinion is uninformed, it must be instructed. Also, a "mass democracy . . . precludes the possibility of a direct and literal control of public policy by public opinion." We are left with elites—of communication, interest groups, politicians, bureaucrats, education, religion—and Almond is not happy with any of them. None has thus far displayed either a learning or an aptitude sufficient for the task. We do currently have a "consensus" defined as "resistance to Communist expansion" and "the establishment of a peaceful and legal international order in which American material and security interests would be protected." But it is a policy neither sure nor fixed. Lack of expert knowledge and the oscillation of moods forever imperil it. Almond is not indifferent to the claims of mass education, but for him it is through the education of elites that salvation lies.

While this study is the most significant yet written on the subject, it is easily one of the most depressing. Obviously we cannot look for assurance where none exists. But there is more hope than Almond suggests, for the great weakness of the book is the lack of critical attention accorded to political parties, to party competition and to party government.

The process of making decisions whether for domestic or foreign purposes is the same in all governments. Individuals, belonging to groups, are clothed with the power to act. The difference between democratic government and all other varieties lies in the controls which govern the wielders of power. Hence the issue is not really whether decisions can or cannot be made by all the people. The issue is: Given the fact that wise, long-range decisions cannot be made without a comprehensive delegation of the power to govern, how can that power be democratically controlled? And this is the central issue of democracy.

All this has nothing to do with the *existence* of elites; it has to do with their functional relations. This is the problem of parties. Parties alone can govern democratically. Parties alone make it possible to fix responsibility, to register majorities, to effect choices.

Obviously, the parties do not currently operate so as to offer real choices. But this failure does not destroy the validity of democratic party theory: two-party competition, the role of the opposition, continuing and alternating majorities.

If this analysis has any validity at all, it defines the democratic challenge sharply: to put the parties to work for democracy, to make them funtion by creating real choices. Only then can they become the instruments of popular government. Parties can be more than discordant combinations of interest groups which fluctuate in response to changing issues. Issues are made by historical processes and historical events; they are framed by party managers in the midst of the struggle within and between parties. Party managers and the leaders of the control groups within the parties are the elites.

As important as the role of the expert in devising policy is the role of the elected leadership in framing the issue and guiding debate so as to elicit an intelligent popular response. It cannot be provoked by a type of political organization that tends toward divisions within the party structure and toward a fluctuating bipartisanism. We cannot have an intelligent public opinion unless the party system can frame issues in such a way that the voters can understand which party is responsible for what is or is not done. There is no better way of making elites responsible than the mobilization of majorities.

Smoothly-functioning parties would not necessarily solve the problems that beset us. But without an awareness of the democratic potentialities of political parties and a concerted effort to exploit them for democratic ends, no solution is possible. BERT JAMES LOEWENBERG

Bert James Loewenberg is professor of American History at Sarah Lawrence College and author of "The United States: American Democracy in World Perspective."

BEN'S SISTER

JANE MECOM: FRANKLIN'S FAVORITE SISTER, by Carl Van Doren (Viking; $4).

BENJAMIN'S FATHER, Josiah Franklin, was a busy man. He made soap and candles, married twice, begat seven children with his first wife and ten with his second. Though infant mortality reduced his brood substantially, it was still a large and confusing household in which the youngest son, Benjamin, formed a lasting affection for the youngest daughter, Jane, six years his junior. Jane, a comely, sweet yet sturdy spirit, sprouted true maple-syrup hero-worship for her incredible brother, and when he ran away from home at the well-known early age and abandoned his apprenticeship to his newspaper-editor brother, Jane knew it would all turn out all right in the end. When it did, and there were marks of young Ben's successes in Philadelphia, Jane's adoration had found its "objective correlative." For the sixty years that ensued in this close brother-sister relationship, an enthusiastic correspondence was maintained. In the

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last years, indeed, their mutual affections were strengthened by the recognition that they alone survived out of a host of siblings, kinsfolk, and even their own children and grandchildren.

Sister Jane was far less fortunate than Brother Ben in material triumphs as well as in the endowments of mind and wit that made him America's world-celebrated *philosophe* and the most enchanting ambassador of good will this nation has ever sent out into the world. For poor Jane had to endure rank poverty, bear with an ailing husband, sickly children most of whom died in infancy or when very young, and two sons who became insane. Brother Ben was always in the role of giving gifts and providing necessities for a grateful sister—a sister who clearly looked on him as the crowning joy of her troubled existence. It was a tribute to Jane's unshaken integrity, her industry and courage, that while she appreciated Ben's enormous personal benevolence and familial kindness, she never permitted her gratitude to become cloying. The correspondence between brother and sister proves that none of Ben's favors gave Jane as much pleasure as she derived from their rare personal visits together in Boston or Philadelphia.

Fine qualities of fortitude, piety and love, however, are not distinctive enough in a woman to ensure the possessor a historic place as "an addition to the number of persons who persist in the world's memory, like characters of fiction or heroes of legend." Carl Van Doren believed he could win this place for Jane Mecom, and he devoted what proved to be his last years to the task. (He also edited the letters themselves for a volume now being published by the Princeton University Press.) His biography will be valued most for the light it throws on Franklin when he is offstage and presumably sincere, full of concern for his sister's and family's welfare, full of the same homely wisdom and liberal tolerance by which his outside friendships and public works are known. There is trustworthy evidence here that Franklin's common-sense morality and pragmatic philosophy were so deeply held that they were able to meet the test of daily experience and cumbersome domestic obligations. A flavorful contrast is incidentally revealed between Dr. Franklin, the fashionable idol of French salons, the quasi-lover of Madame Helvétius and gallant "friend" of countless other Parisian celebrities, and the good, dependable son of middle-class Boston, providing enough firewood to keep his sister warm in winter and arranging his real estate so that the comfort and needs of a large family would be safe even from its own tendencies to mismanage. In short, one must look to the author's understandable fascination with the subject of his great biography *Benjamin Franklin* for the answer to the question why such extended treatment should be given to an excellent but otherwise limited domestic being like Jane Mecom.

ADRIENNE KOCH

Adrienne Koch, author of the recently published "Jefferson and Madison: The Great Collaboration," is Adjunct Associate Professor of Philosophy, Division of General Education, New York University.

ON THE AIR

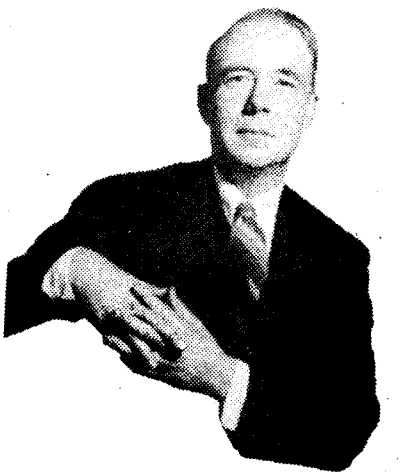
Theory and Practice

THE US Office of Education lists more than 300 institutions of higher learning which offer courses in radio and television. While most of the instruction is in techniques—writing, acting, directing, research, etc.—a few courses are devoted to general principles. There are schools—New York University and the University of Illinois are notable—where several communications media are studied at one time, and broadcasting is examined in perspective. Thus, there is no lack of academic interest in the field, but professional broadcasters (ex-

RADIO AND TELEVISION ACTING, by Edwin Duerr (Rinehart; $6.50).

RADIO AND TELEVISION: AN INTRODUCTION, by Giraud Chester and Garnet R. Garrison (Appleton-Century-Crofts; $4.75).

RADIO, TELEVISION AND SOCIETY, by Charles A. Siepmann (Oxford University Press; $4.75).



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cept sometimes as part-time faculty members and often preaching what they fail to practise) don't go to school. If they did, and if they paid attention, radio and television might be showing brighter faces to their publics.

For instance, Edwin Duerr's textbook on acting is a big, handsome, well-written and quite expensive work that is already being used in many college courses (it was published last spring) because the author knows his business and knows, furthermore, how to explain it to others. Duerr tries to teach more than commercially-successful acting, more than microphone mechanics or the secret of television's bedside manner. He treats air acting as a new extension of an old art that has many dimensions. He is interested less in methods than in meaning; not only in procedures but in motivation. But have you noticed that your radio or television set is offering acting of that quality of late?

Giraud Chester and Garnet R. Garrison have written a general introduction to the field, combining in one book discussions of broadcasting both as a social force and as a skill for the potential writer or actor. They have done an excellent, comprehensive job. It would profit a lot of broadcasters to read the first part of this work, which reports without comment the facts about radio's deterioration from a potential force in mass education to a platform largely for the display of mediocrity.

But it is when we read Charles A. Siepmann's book that we really wish we could crowd the broadcasters into one armory and keep them there until they had mastered every chapter. For Siepmann's approach is the most responsible, most provocative criticism of broadcasting that we have had. He doesn't bother to dissect single programs or even whole formats. Jack Benny is never mentioned in more than 400 pages. Siepmann is concerned with radio-television's relationship to basic social concepts involving not only freedom of speech but freedom of listening.

In an incisive chapter on "Rights and Duties of the Listener," Siepmann calls attention to the fact that our broadcasting system is anything but a democratic instrument. "Radio's confidence and clear conscience regarding its service to listeners," he declares, "will be demonstrated when networks and stations admit regular critics of radio to the air. . . ." In chapters examining the consequences of propaganda, and free speech as it is practiced on the air, Siepmann skillfully deprives broadcasting of many of its pretensions to fairness and responsibility.

American broadcasting is a tripod. Theoretically, the government (through the Federal Communications Commission) and the public share the fortunes of broadcasting with those actively engaged in the industry. In fact, Siepmann shows, the FCC's leg is very weak: "The Commission has 'consistently maintained' [high principles] but it has almost consistently not acted." As for the public, Hooperatings and fan mail have been acceptable "critical" criteria.

I know there are people in broadcasting who—at least after office hours—display a conscience. To these I recommend the book. The others in the industry will have to be reached, if they ever are, through the intelligent listeners and viewers who must understand that broadcasting, under our existing laws, can be made more responsive as well as socially more responsible. SAUL CARSON

MOVIES

Damaged in Transit

TO MENTION the most obvious point first, Warner Brothers' transcription of "The Glass Menagerie" is patently a stage play with screen appendages. It is not necessary to have seen the Tennessee Williams original to detect where his framework stops and the movie superstructure is tacked on. Amanda, driven frantic by her dream-bound daughter and her feckless son, recalls a moment of romantic glory, and we are carried back thirty years to a gay and heady plantation ball; there are scenes in a shoe factory, in a business school, in a dance hall, at the zoo, on a ship at sea. They are woven rather skillfully into the original fabric (Williams assisted at the work) and they get around the obvious fact that no movie can spend an hour and a half photographing what goes on in one small room and hope to survive as entertainment. But dramatically these film asides have no more function than the chrome on a Buick, and, as usually happens, a tight, economical piece of stage construction now appears on the screen distended and sagging with superfluities.

Aside from this almost inevitable weakness, the quality of the performance was disappointing. The content of Williams' little tragedy is almost as fragile as its title, and the acting struck me as coarse-grained for the occasion. It was as though all the characters had been italicized to make sure that the least perceptive moviegoer would grasp them. Gertrude Lawrence came as close to ranting as so accomplished an actress can; Jane Wyman, apparently typed forever as a mooncalf, was asked to do almost nothing except appear moist in closeups; Kirk Douglas was brash to the point of insupportability, and Arthur Kennedy expressed himself mainly by punching his hat and flinging his coat to the floor in the manner made famous by his namesake, the late Edgar Kennedy. To be sure, Williams did not create very subtle people in the first place, but under Irving Rapper's direction they carry labels around their necks. Paradoxically, the screen is both more impersonal and more intimate than the theatre, and actors working for the camera should be encouraged to interpret their roles less broadly than would be appropriate on the stage. Yet it often happens that a screen cast does just the opposite: conscious that it will be compared to a beloved "flesh and blood" company, it presses hard for emotional impact. What results is less a facsimile than a parody of the original. "The Glass Menagerie" is a respectable translation and a good many people may weep contentedly at it, but you can't in conscience say that it is very interesting.

The French are not always as serious about love as the rest of us might wish, but they are seldom witless about it: the new import, "Souvenir," comes as an uncharacteristic surprise. For just under two long hours it displays Michele Mor-

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gan and Jean Marais in a lovers' wrangle that is incredible to begin with and does not improve as the series of repetitive rendezvous moves inexorably to a climax of humorless bliss. Air France loaned its facilities for this picture (the lovers are crew members and conduct their dispute over a good part of the globe); in exchange for this generosity, the airline is given vivid publicity demonstrating the mechanical unreliability of its vehicles.

The only approximation to entertainment is provided by the English caption writer's bold but not very successful attempt to grapple with the verb "tutoyer." He renders this translator's nightmare as "to be nice to," with results that are at once mystifying and faintly bawdy.

The purpose of "Mr. 880" is painless amusement and those who attend it are demonstrably amused; so it may be thought tedious of me to enter a complicated objection. But even frivolity should make the most of its opportunities and "Mr. 880," which might have been exceedingly droll, is no more than moderately funny. The perspective and the imagination are at fault.

For several years the oldest and most exasperating counterfeiting case in the files of the US Secret Service was the one numbered 880. It was not a serious matter, for only a few bills were passed a month and these were always singles—such abominably bad singles that whoever was offering them took a fearful risk for the petty gain. It was the ludicrous incompetence of the workmanship (the bills were printed on plain bond paper and "Washington" was misspelled) that humiliated the government agents and drove them to ever more hectic efforts to corner their feckless but curiously wily foe. When they did catch him at last, he turned out to be an old junk dealer of such beguiling personality and so militantly upright in his modest larceny that he was let off with little more than a rebuke. All this was told originally by St. Clair McKelway in a *New Yorker* "Annals of Crime."

In the screen version of the yarn, Edmund Gwenn, a celebrated master of whimsy, plays the central role. You cannot say, however, that he plays it in the center of the picture, for he is pushed to one side for a banal love story enacted by Burt Lancaster, federal operator, and Dorothy McGuire, friend of the accused. And insofar as he does command attention, Gwenn is no more than adequate. He displays prodigies of whimsicality, hopping and skipping like an urchin, conversing earnestly with his comical dog, wiping away a conspicuously surreptitious tear when lightly kissed and at the end begging the forgiveness of one and all for any inconvenience he may have caused. All very pleasantly sentimental, but the aging rascal on whom this story is based passed several hundred phony dollars over a period of years and there must have been more to him than sweet senility.

The irony of Gwenn's rather flat and blatant performance is that he was a character actor of some finesse until Hollywood detected his gift for doddering amiability. He could have played the real Mr. 880 to the life if the script had produced any life to be played.

Our screen thrillers have developed a successful formula of astringent violence, and that, in part, may explain why the British sentimental melodrama, "For Them That Trespass," received so cold a reception when it opened (and closed) in New York recently. It is also true that the gifted director, Cavalcanti, is highly mannered and adept at a poetic, moody kind of photography that is bound to seem a little spurious when it is employed on a trite and shoddy script. Nevertheless, "For Them That Trespass" does have style and, if it can overcome your preconceived notion of how fast a crime picture should unwind, might well ensnare you in its melancholy suspense.

On the other hand, "Pink String and Sealing Wax" is a hopeless bore—long-winded, implausible, stiff and stuffy. It was made in London in 1945 and could not have been made in Hollywood after 1925. Toward the end of Prohibition, people used to take the ferry to Hoboken to laugh at this kind of naïve depravity, but it won't go down without beer.

ROBERT HATCH

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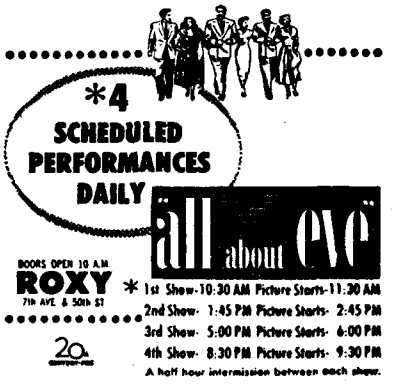
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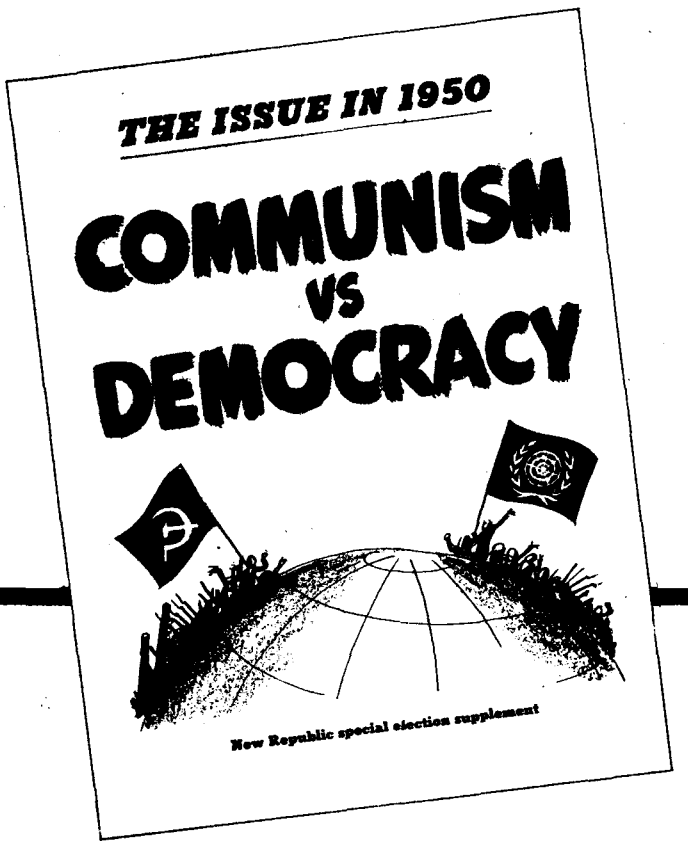

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